

Equal Rights

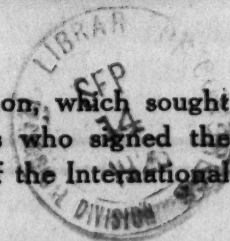
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FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY,
SEPTEMBER 15, 1928



Emma Anatole France

Member of the Women's Committee on International Action, which sought to present the Equal Rights Treaty to the Plenipotentiaries who signed the Kellogg-Briand Peace Treaty. Mme. France is a member of the International Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party.



Feminist Notes

"Impossible for a Girl"

AMERICA'S best-known woman amateur radio operator, Elizabeth Zandonini, is at last about to give up her desire to be a ship's radio operator as it is, she says, "impossible for a girl." The only woman radio operator aboard ship she has ever heard of was the daughter of the skipper of a coastwise vessel.

Miss Zandonini attended a Washington, D. C., radio school and qualified for a commercial license. She set up an amateur station in 1921, and this station has worked a majority of the 18,000 amateur stations in this country, and many in other parts of the world.

For two years after the war she taught radio to disabled veterans in various hospitals under special appointment by the War Department. Some of her former students are now radio experts and some are identified with broadcasting. In 1921 she became librarian and bibliographer for the Bureau of Standards, and the same year she obtained her amateur license.

Woman Elected Sheriff

L AURA MASON of Lebanon, Tennessee, was elected sheriff in the recent election in Wilson County. Mrs. Mason was chosen by a comfortable majority over her male opponents.

Miss Earhart Becomes Editor

A MELIA EARHART has been appointed as associate editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, it was recently announced from the office of Ray Long, editor-in-chief of that monthly. Miss Earhart, first woman to cross the Atlantic by airplane, will conduct a department devoted to the popular phases of aviation. The new post, it is said, will not interfere with her career as a pilot.

Woman Heads Indian Tribe

L UCY TAYIAH-EADS is chief of the Kaw tribe of Indians, from a member of which Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment and Republican nominee for Vice-President, is descended. Mrs. Tayiah-Eads is a trained nurse, and practiced her profession in New York for some time. The biggest business of the Kaws is their effort to collect \$15,000,000 from the Government, which they claim is due them from the sale of their old reservation in Kansas in 1873. It was when the reservation was sold and the tribe moved to Oklahoma that Charles Curtis left the Indians to go to school and to work.

A New Victory for Spanish Women

I N competitive examinations, open to both sexes, for positions as teachers of French in the secondary schools of Spain, five of the highest places, the first, third, fourth, sixth, and eleventh, were attained by five young women graduates in philosophy and letters.

Acción Católica de la Mujer (Madrid) rejoices in their success as "a new feminine victory," since their high standing achieved in competition with men on equal terms is further evidence that Spanish women desire and are capable of a degree of education which will enable them to support themselves independently and honorably. One of the successful candidates is Maria de los Dolores del Palacio y Azara, who was one of the first women in Spain to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters.

Bill for Swiss Prud'femmes

P ROPOSED revision of the Swiss law provides that women may vote for and be elected members of the *Tribunaux de Prud'hommes*, the bodies of experts which settle trade disputes between employers and employees, also that the co-operation of women experts shall be obligatory in the settlement of controversies occurring in trades in which women only are employed. *Le Travail Féminin*, organ of the Union of Catholic Workingwomen of Geneva, reports that these measures, "inspired by the spirit of justice and simple common sense" which the Union and other women's organizations have long demanded, have been incorporated in a bill sponsored by the Christian-Social (Catholic) trade-union group.

Highest Salary

R UTH B. SHIPLEY, chief of the Passport Division of the Department of State, now receives the highest salary of any woman in the diplomatic service of the Government. When appointed to that important office, a few months ago, she received \$3,500 as a member of the board of review of efficiency ratings, and her salary as head of the Passport Division remained at the same figure until a general reallocation of departmental salaries was made recently, with the result that her annual compensation was fixed at \$4,600.

Handles Transoceanic Service

F LORENCE SULLIVAN is the champion long-distance telephonist of the United States. She handles the channel wire which carries the calls between America and Europe. She is relieved at her post by Jean Ficoratta. The average number of foreign calls is about sixty a day.

For Women in Professions

W OMEN doctors, women lawyers, and women in every other line are expected to benefit by the movement which Baroness Ravensdale, England, is pushing to "inter-correlate women's economic power." She aims to break down whatever barriers still exist against the employment of women in the professions and business, according to reports received in this country. During May, conferences were held at which women were told carefully ascertained facts about openings for them in all lines.

Lady Ravensdale is also organizing a "Representative Careers Conference" made up of women barristers, solicitors, surgeons, dentists, doctors, teachers, and women in business and commerce.

Diplomatic and Judicial Posts Open

A DECREE has been signed by the President of the Finnish Republic empowering women to hold office as diplomatic representatives in foreign countries and to serve as judges in the inferior courts of the Republic. Finland is still in the van of the movement for equality of the sexes.

Women Life Guards

H. F. ENLOWS, director of life-saving and first aid for the Red Cross, predicts that there soon will be more women life-savers than men.

The 1928 figures on the number of life-saving certificates that have been awarded, with the privilege of wearing the Red Cross life-saving insignia, includes 33,614 women and girls and 43,248 men and boys, all more than 17 years old.

"In many of this summer's camps more girls have enrolled than men," Mr. Enlows says. "This is the first time we have had such a situation, although year by year the proportion of women enrolled has been steadily increasing.

"The women must pass the same test the men do, so their qualifications are just as high. Life-saving has opened up a new field for girls and women and it is now estimated that about 5,000 women are supporting themselves through work as counselors in girls' camps, as swimming instructors in schools or public and private pools, and as life guards at summer beaches."

Woman Lodge President

M RS. RICHARD R. WILLIAMS of Utica, New York, is the first woman to serve as president of the Grand Lodge of American Ivorites, an organization of Welsh men and women. She was elected at the annual convention recently.

"And Daughter"

AMBITIOUS and capable daughters are being rewarded at last by their own fathers. The story is told in the *Christian Science Monitor* of the first instance on record in England where a partnership between father and daughter has been publicly recognized in the firm name. A fish merchant, whose daughter managed his business at Caterham, Surrey, while he was in France during the war and was afterward given a trial partnership, has now changed his sign over his shop to read "H. Marment and Daughter."

A little less than two years ago a group of business and professional women in London under the chairmanship of Lady Rhondda set themselves the task of persuading business-owning fathers to take their daughters into their businesses with them just as they might their sons. This Business and University Committee, as the group called themselves, stated that it was their purpose "to be a link between the employer and the highly educated employable woman." Then it added, "We want to promote opportunities for the university-trained woman willing to start at the bottom of a business with a view to working up, perhaps to director, and we also want to encourage fathers to place their daughters in their businesses."

To prove that daughters could carry on family ownership and tradition in business, they had the outstanding example of their chairman, for, in 1918, Viscountess Rhondda succeeded to the position of her father, well-known Welsh colliery owner, not nominally, but actually, in everything but his seat in the House of Lords, which she has so far stormed unsuccessfully. Though still a young woman, she is an active director in twenty-eight or more important companies, and, at about the time that she

added the Business and University Committee to her many outside interests, which included running the magazine, *Time and Tide*, she was made the first woman president of the Institute of Directors in London. She is a member of the International Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party, and is a leader in England's movement for Equal Rights in every field.

The committee can also point with pride to the fact that another of its members, Miss Nettlefold, has reached the place of director in the firm owned by her father, Nettlefold and Sons, Ltd., wholesale ironmongers. There was the instance, too, of the Cadbury Chocolate Company, which is controlled by a daughter of the house, D. A. Cadbury. Lunn's, the travel bureau, almost as well known as Cook's, is managed by a daughter of the founder, Sir Henry Lunn; and the chairman of the board of a large boot manufacturing house, Mrs. Pigott, is the daughter of the owner.

The committee also disclosed an encouragement by force of example that the chief owner of a cotton-spinning mill in Lancashire was training his daughter in the business; and a soap merchant elsewhere, who had no sons, was preparing his two daughters to succeed him.

One of the first responses to the committee's plea came from a well-established engineer who told the secretary, C. Haslett, that he was willing to buy a partnership in some firm for his daughter, an electrical graduate, if the committee would find the firm. This they did and made another entry on the credit side of the ledger of footstep-following daughters.

IN the United States where there has been no such outspoken or organized effort to inspire fathers to give their

daughters an apprenticeship in their businesses, the most popular line of succession, womanly speaking, has been that from husbands to widows. Political life has seen several instances of this transference of position, and in the business world such happenings occur constantly.

There is, though, the case of Emma Duerrwaechter of South Germantown, Wisconsin, who was elected president of the Germantown State Bank when her father died several years ago; and in San Francisco, Eugenia Hoey, a daughter of the founder, is the treasurer of the John Hoey Company, manufacturer of box-springs and couches.

Taking in grand-daughters, mention may be made of Margaret Gray who last year joined the library staff of the Hawthorne (Illinois) plant of the Western Electric Company which her grandfather, Elisha Gray, founded more than fifty years ago.

There have been mother and son partnerships a-plenty. When Carrie Jacobs Bond went into music publishing she made her son the manager of the firm, as she recently related in her published autobiography. One partnership between mother and son which, according to information at hand, remains unique was that formed when the late Marion Harland and her son, Albert Payson Terhune, collaborated in writing a novel.

"It is naturally more in keeping with tradition for mothers to depend upon their sons for assistance than it is for fathers to depend upon their daughters," comments the *Christian Science Monitor*. "But tradition has been trounced many times already in this century, and so one is left to wonder if by the end of it a new sign '— and Daughter' will occasion no comment whatsoever."

Political Segregation

EVEN the women accustomed to it are protesting against being barred from the real councils of political parties.

Affairs, Washington's Weekly Review, published by Robert Pell and Marion Law, in an article on the efforts of Republican leaders to get across the idea of "Hoover, the man," commented:

"Eastern leaders only regretted that they couldn't stretch things a bit and play up their candidate as 'Hoover, the woman,' particularly around Tuesday

when Mrs. Alvin T. Hert and Chairman Work received the Republican women politicians in Washington. Women leaders, among whom Mrs. Charles H. Sabin of New York was the most outspoken, were offended at the 'segregation policy,' which closed the important Eastern meetings in New York to them and shut the doors of the Advisory Committee in their faces. Mrs. Sabin characterized it, Dr. Work's action, as 'a very grave mistake.'

"If women are to share responsibility for the success of this campaign,' she con-

tinued, 'then they should also share in its direction and confidences.'

"Instead of sharing its confidences they were lunched and teaed and talked to in Washington (with the exception of Mrs. Mary Booze, colored national committee-woman from Mississippi, who had 'another engagement' when luncheon time came around) and were told that the object of their endeavors should be to 'hang a Hoover picture in every kitchen.'"

We welcome Mrs. Sabin to the ranks of those insisting upon Equal Rights.

Equal Rights



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MEMBERSHIP OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

Annual Dues	\$10.00
Associate Members	\$1.00
Subscribing Members	\$3.00
Founders	\$100.00
Life Members	\$1,000.00
Endowers	\$5,000.00
Sustainers	\$5,000.00

OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 64.]

Introduced in the Senate, January 4, 1928,

by SENATOR CHARLES E. CURTIS, Kansas.

Introduced in the House, May 18, 1928,
by REPRESENTATIVE FREDERICK W. MAGRADY,
Pennsylvania.

Using All Means

TODAY the world knows that women want an international agreement to outlaw the inequality of women, just as in years past the world outlawed human slavery by international agreement, just as today the world is taking an important step to outlaw war by international agreement.

The question of an Equal Rights Treaty guaranteeing freedom and justice for women first came before the world, particularly the Western Hemisphere, at the Pan-American Conference in Havana in the beginning of this year.

We all know the results of that action taken by the Committee on International Action of the National Woman's Party, who promptly were given the wholehearted aid of Latin-American women. The Inter-American Commission of Women, officially created by the Pan-American Conference, is at work.

Now the women of Europe have combined with the women of North, Central, and South America to seek world-wide action to end the legal inferiority of women.

The Committee on International Action, represented by women of France, Germany, Italy, England, and the United States, made a quiet, circumspect, and entirely unheralded request for a hearing before the plenipotentiaries of fifteen nations gathered to sign the Kellogg-Briand Treaty to outlaw war. This request, if the reports of the press to this country are correct, was simply ignored. It was necessary that such an important proposal as the Equal Rights Treaty not be ignored. So, a simple banner with a simple statement of the objects of the committee was unfurled before the gates of the Presidential Chateau, where the plenipotentiaries were dining with President Doumergue. There was no unseemly action; nothing but the persistence of those who are motivated by an indomitable will to establish justice.

The result: A few hours in a police station, and thousands of words cabled all over the world telling the story of women's demand for international agreement to free women of the legal disabilities which they suffer practically everywhere.

THE "militancy" of the Committee on international action, if such a peaceful demonstration can be called militancy, is nothing new to France. The same factors which gave rise to that demonstration at Rambouillet has given rise to militancy on the part of the French suffragists. The question of woman suffrage was being ignored in France. As Mme. Malaterre-Sellier said, "The arguments for and against it—are they now quite exhausted?" The time for argument was past. The time for action had definitely arrived.

Perhaps, with this new development in the French suffrage movement, as well as in the international field, it might be well to remind ourselves of the succinct way in which Doris Stevens analyzed the militancy of American suffragists in her story of that campaign, "Jailed for Freedom."

In her preface to the book, Miss Stevens said:

"There are two ways in which this story might be told. It might be told as a tragic and harrowing tale of martyrdom. Or it might be told as a ruthless enterprise of compelling a hostile administration to subject women to martyrdom in order to hasten its surrender. The truth is, it has elements of both ruthlessness and martyrdom. And I have tried to make them appear in true proportion. It is my sincere hope that you will understand and appreciate the martyrdom involved, for it was the conscious voluntary gift of beautiful, strong, and young hearts. *But it was never martyrdom for its own sake. It was martyrdom used for a practical purpose.*"

THE reactions of French women to the demonstration of the Committee on International Action, as reported by the press, are indeed interesting. Women who probably never "lobbied" a senator, women who probably never had any idea of picketing or parading with the French suffragists, said, "We French women *do* want our vote, and we will get it!"

They saw the parallel between their own Senate, which could not give a minute to woman suffrage, and the plenipotentiaries, who could not give ten minutes to listening to the proposal for Equal Rights between men and women throughout the world.

Even if these diplomats did not listen, as did the delegates to the Pan-American Conference, they now know that women will not rest quietly and meekly while they are being ignored. They know that wherever international conferences take place, women will be there demanding that their voice be heard, that their rights be guaranteed by international action. If one method of obtaining a hearing is not successful, another will be found which will be successful.

What Led to Militancy in France

By Katharine Ward Fisher

WHAT sound reason French suffragists have for picketing their Senate is shown by recent accounts in *Le Droit des Femmes* and other French papers. The immediate cause was the refusal of the Senate on June 19 by a vote of 176 to 123 to give any time for debating the Marraud report on the woman suffrage bill. But the whole situation of Frenchwomen in regard to their political rights is the force that has driven them to militancy.

France is the only great nation that has not given the vote to women. It is the one big black spot on the European suffrage map. The year 1928 marks the eightieth anniversary of the granting of "universal" suffrage to French men. The House of Deputies passed the woman suffrage measure in 1919. Ever since then it has been blocked by the Senate.

On June 5 and on June 13 debate on the bill had been postponed by excuses. Seeing the need to show their strength, the women were already planning a great national suffrage demonstration in the form of a parade to take place in Paris on Sunday, July 1. A permit for this had been requested from the Chief of Police on June 7. He delayed and temporized, suggesting that the women ride in automobiles instead of marching, an impossibility since thousands were to take part. By June 18 delegations had been pledged from fifty-two of the departments of France. Provincial costumes and local banners were to prove that suffrage was desired by women in every part of the country. A letter in one of the papers had pointed out that Deputies and Senators were sure to be impressed by the marching of women from their own, perhaps distant, constituencies.

Then the permit to march was denied. The Senate, close to adjournment, voted that the question of woman suffrage was not worth a minute of its time. Among those opposed were Senators who while running for office had included suffrage in their political programs. Strikingly, on the very day when Frenchwomen were told, "You shall not march. You shall not vote," the House of Lords passed the Equal Franchise measure, giving British women the same voting rights as men, and the funeral of Mrs. Pankhurst in London reminded people in France, politicians as well as suffragists, how these rights were won.

A Deputy in the Chamber asked, "Will not her example push French Feminists into using such methods, which so far they have not been willing to adopt?"

Le Droit des Femmes said, "In this hour which calls Frenchwomen to follow in her footsteps, they cannot too greatly reverence the memory of this brave woman." Maria Verone wrote in *L'Oeuvre*, a Paris

weekly, "We were recently told by an American suffragette who has known the damp air of cells and the hunger-strike, 'If you are not ready for prison, you are not ready for the vote!' Well, some of us are ready for prison."

The next time the Senate met, the picket-line, "la garde," stood before its door with their placards reading, "Frenchwomen want to vote. The Senate does not want them to," "No vote, no taxes," and "Frenchwomen have justified the confidence of the nation." This last was a declaration made by the Senate in recognition of women's work during the war. *Le Droit des Femmes* says:

"Apparently these were seditious slogans, for our conscript fathers appealed to the police, including mounted police. To bring to their senses the half dozen suffragettes who provided for each session this guard of honor, the Prefecture of Police sent into action forty or fifty policemen, as many in plain clothes as in uniform."

One day, by a ruse, the police induced the women to leave. They told them the Senators had left by another door. After the pickets had gone, the Senators ventured forth. Next the policemen tried hustling the women about and taking them to the police station. But when the suffragists were asked what they would do if released, they declared in unison, "*Recommencer*,"—"Do it again."

THE "garde" did not confine itself to attending upon the Senators at the Palais de Luxembourg. Some of them followed one Senator to the church where his grand-daughter was being married, and went also to the wedding of the daughter of the chief clerk of the Senate at another church.

At the Grand Prix races they followed President Doumergue into the enclosure where the jockeys weigh in, and protested to him against the vote of the Senate. "I am with you," said M. Doumergue, "but I have no vote."

A few days later every Senator who had voted against the suffrage bill found at his door, or, in a few cases, received through the mail, a leaflet giving the reasons why women want the vote.

The "garde" was maintained each day the Senate sat until the end of the session, and on one Sunday, later, when a special session was held to stabilize the franc. It is announced that it will be on hand when Parliament convenes in October or November.

Three organizations provided the sentries: the Ligue d'Action Féminine, the Society for Improving the Condition of Women, and the League for Women's

Rights. There was also one representative of the French Union for Woman Suffrage. The pickets symbolized the widespread resentment of French women against the Senate for "the wrong done to Frenchwomen on June 19." Only a few hours after the Senate's action the following protest by four associated Feminist organizations was sent to the Paris press:

"The National Council of French Women, the French Union for Woman Suffrage, the French League for Women's Rights, the League for Improving the Condition of Women, and the Fraternal Union of Women, representing throughout France hundreds of thousands of women, protest with indignation against the action of the Senate which will not even discuss a question of interest to half of the nation.

"In the name of women and of mothers, they appeal to public opinion and *decide to use all means in the fight for recognition of their rights!*"

In many cities, Orleans, Grenoble, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, and others, resolutions of protest were adopted and sent to the local newspapers. Thousands signed a petition of protest at Bordeaux.

Mme. la Duchesse d'Uzès issued an appeal to Frenchwomen, urging them to "act energetically, unitedly, and with enthusiasm," and suggested that women landowners refuse to pay the land-tax. At a protest meeting held in Paris on June 27, Mme. Fonsèque, president of the Society for Improving the Condition of Women, declared she spoke chiefly to show "the perfect union between all the Feminist associations." Mme. Mensch, president of a Union of War Widows, declared that her group was solidly with these organizations. The war widows, she said, were in danger of losing even their small pensions, and powerless to prevent it while they had no vote.

Mlle. Bonnin, representing the women employees of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Service, said that these had tried in vain to obtain the same pay that men clerks received for equal work, that they needed the vote in order to get it, and that the 26,000 women in this service were "ready to take the field side by side with the Feminist organizations." Other leaders of organized women spoke, including Mme. Verone and Mme. Malaterre-Sellier, both of whom are members of the International Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party.

Mme. Malaterre-Sellier said:

"Why refuse to Frenchwomen the rights which are accorded to women by

all the great nations? Are not women with us subject as elsewhere to all the same sacrifices as men? We accept the sacrifices, but not when they are made merely to repair the mistakes made by men. From now on the country must be made to feel that we count, that we are determined to obtain reparation for the wrong done to us on the 19th of June."

Mme. Verone gave the reasons for resorting to direct action:

"The question of woman suffrage no longer excites the press. The arguments for and against it—are they not quite exhausted? And anyway, a fine robbery, a skillful burglary, are not these far more interesting? A public demonstration consisting of a long, quiet, imposing procession of Feminists in Paris would certainly have attracted attention. . . . It is certain that every department would have been represented. Our demonstration would have been too fine. That is undoubtedly why it was prohibited. But this prohibition permits certain political writers to keep on saying that the Feminist associations are phantom leagues. It permits certain members of Parliament, such as André Hesse, to declare that French women, with the exception of a hundred lawyers, do not want the right to vote.

"Meanwhile protests have come in from everywhere. . . . If the Minister of the Interior had not met with a refusal our request for a permit which we sent to him before carrying out our parade, perhaps we should have continued to work peacefully. But now, ladies, I ask you, what are we going to do? Shall we copy the English suffragettes?"

According to the report, all the women present shouted, "Yes! Yes!"

"Will you run the risk of a longer or a shorter stay in the prison of St. Lazare?"

"Yes, yes."

"If they continue, ladies, to deny you all rights, don't be in a hurry to pay your taxes. Pay them as late as possible. Stabilization has just established that the country is four-fifths bankrupt. We have reason then to fear men's government, and to fear that tomorrow it may be wholly bankrupt. If you are not allowed to control the use of funds you contribute to the State, do not give anything more. You constitute a majority of the depositors in the savings-bank, with the sum of several billions to your credits. Well! if you are not allowed to vote, draw out your money, and demand payment for the national defense bonds that you hold."

These suggestions were received with great applause, and the chairman of the meeting, M. Lhermitte, said, "I am solidly with the president of the Ligue Francaise pour le Droit des Femmes. Not only do I approve the advice she has given you, but I repeat it to you myself." He said also that those present had met not merely to protest against a new violation of the rights of women, but against an assault upon liberty itself. He added, "Against this assault upon liberty, ladies, you have the right to revolt."

The meeting paid tribute to Mrs. Pankhurst and passed a resolution declaring that "the men and women present are ready to employ all means in order that the right of suffrage may at last be known to Frenchwomen."

THE question has been raised as to whether the Senate was within its constitutional rights in refusing even to consider a measure duly transmitted to it by the lower house. Other groups wonder if measures of interest to them may not be likewise suppressed.

The prohibition of the parade appears to have caused almost as much criticism as the Senate vote. The reasons given, that the parade might have given rise to disorder, and that no unofficial parades are now allowed in Paris because they would interfere with traffic, are held to be weak excuses. M. Bracke attacking M. Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, on these points in the House of Deputies, pointed out that the Republic had permitted parades in honor of Joan of Arc which marched to shouts of "Vive le Roi." At the end of his speech he laid upon the Minister of the Interior responsibility for any militancy which the suffragists might adopt, saying:

"To be unwilling to permit a demonstration, which promised to be perfectly orderly, at the moment when the Senate has not only refused to vote upon, but has refused even to consider this measure transmitted to it so long ago, is equal to saying that the right of suffrage, which has been given to all women throughout the greater part of Europe, in some countries as the result of revolution, can be obtained in France only by revolution.

"If that is what is meant, it is you, M. le Ministre—for I do not believe that the Chief of Police took it upon himself to refuse a permit without asking you—it is you yourself who appeal to other than peaceful methods."

What Happened in Seattle

By Julia N. Budlong
(In *The Nation*, August 29.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: This account of the administration of Mayor Bertha K. Landes of Seattle, and her recent defeat reveals such an amazing situation that we reprint it in full from the *New York Nation*. EQUAL RIGHTS published an article about Mrs. Landes when she first became Mayor.

THE chivalry of the great open spaces seems, like the rest of our better instincts, to sustain itself only by occasional reversions to more primitive social attitudes. In no other light can we view the refusal of Seattle to return to office its competent and progressive woman mayor at the last municipal election.

Bertha K. Landes came into political life by the logical though unusual avenue of the woman's club. Her life had been spent as a university professor's wife, with home and school her major occupations and her husband's students as her hobby, until her own children were grown and she found herself left with her hands freed for less personal labors. She joined the social-service department of the Century Club, one of the largest women's city clubs, and became, in rapid succession, her department's chairman, the club's president, and president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs.

Anyone familiar with women's club work has now an adequate mental pic-

ture of her character and personality. A rapid rise in club circles denotes unbounded energy, intelligence, executive acumen, and limitless tact and charm. It also denotes an impeccable personal life: a home and family that will pass the most rigid inspection and a reputation for being an excellent wife and mother. It denotes "the right ideas," the "right clothes," membership in a Protestant evangelical church, and New England ancestry.

Mrs. Landes meets every requirement. Her ancestors settled in America as early as 1630, some coming from Denmark and some from England. She grew up in Connecticut, one of a large family presided over by a capable New England

mother who with one hand cared for her numerous progeny and a husband invalidated by the Civil War and with the other was a pillar of strength in the community. "My mother was the most wonderful woman I have ever known. I don't see how she did it," says Mrs. Landes.

Bertha Knight attended college, living while she was there with an older sister who had married a professor. After graduation she returned to live with her mother and to teach—until a university appointment enabled Henry Landes to marry and take his bride over river and mountain and desert and plain to far distant Washington, where they settled down near the university campus in Seattle.

The only feature of her activities in the years to follow which seems to have been in any way a direct preparation for the opportunities to come was the habit of reading aloud to the blind and aged uncle who made his home with her. She read for hours every day and, as his tastes were catholic, she "read everything"—

political science and economics included.

When the war came Mrs. Landes was made chairman of her club's Red Cross department and endured for two years the incessant strain which broke many a conscientious man and woman. It did not break Mrs. Landes. The war over, agitation for "a woman on the City Council" brought a demand that she run for the office. The idea seemed ridiculous to her at first, but the insistence of her friends and the pressure of city-wide appeals eventually persuaded her to permit her candidacy to be filed. She and her team-mate were elected by a large vote on a non-partisan ballot. Three years later she was re-elected by an even larger vote, though her team-mate was snowed under. She was made president of the Council.

Then came Mrs. Landes's big chance and she met it like a Puritan and a general. The Mayor was journeying eastward to a convention in New York. As president of the City Council, Mrs. Landes was to preside at the City Hall in his absence. "Well, there won't be much to do," he said, as he inducted her into his swivel chair behind the mahogany table. "But keep your eye on the Chief here," and he indicated the head of the police force, present for the ceremonies.

Seattle was a wicked city, there is no doubt about that. It is a seaport, the nearest to Canada on the Pacific Coast. It is a big, overgrown, boom town. It has its power corporation and its lumber barons. What else could anyone expect? Things had to be just about as they were; look at all the other big cities in America. Any politician out of swaddling clothes would know enough to let such a situation alone.

Mrs. Landes was not a politician. She was a housekeeper and a clubwoman. She had been given power. She believed in God. She lay awake all one night thinking about it, she tells us. She felt like a martyr. "Oh, I didn't want to do it!" But in the morning she wrote the Chief of Police a letter, calling to his attention certain glaring defects in his administrative force and directing him to correct them immediately. The Chief's reply was saucy. In effect he said: "The charter gives you authority to take over the police forces of the city and run them yourself. Why don't you do it?" So she did.

The next limited train leaving New York for points west had Mayor Brown of Seattle on board. Five days later he stormed into the office where Mrs. Landes sat in his swivel chair. His month's visit had been cut to three weeks. It was the wrong gesture on the Mayor's part, and the next election found Mrs. Landes established in his swivel chair by a 6,000 plurality.

But two years later found her defeated for re-election by a plurality of 19,000. Had her administration been a failure?

Far from it. Her knottiest problem had been the street-car tangle. Seattle, insisting upon a five-cent fare, had taken over its street-cars under a tremendously inflated condemnation appraisal. The five-cent fare had had to be raised to ten cents and during three months of the year the employees of the system were on a voucher basis. This tangle Mrs. Landes inherited. She wrestled manfully with the problem and each year of her incumbency the city was less in debt than the year before. But, midway of her term in office, in December, 1926, the banks suddenly refused to honor the city's vouchers. Investigation revealed that, under the State law, the city could not transfer funds from one department to another to meet an emergency. It looked as if the city would have no funds with which to pay its employees, and Christmas was at hand. Then the character of the allegiance which Mrs. Landes is able to command became evident. Every one of the vouchers was redeemed—by private citizens, by downtown department stores, by small, outlying banks.

WHY, then, in the face of this devotion, has she met defeat? Was the burden of living under a New England conscience too great for the frontier village? Did Geneva again banish Calvin? As far as reform measures went, two remarks, made by representatives of opposite schools of thought, are enlightening. Said a Portland friend's bootlegger: "Seattle? Oh, it's slow up there, you know. Got a woman mayor. Nothing much doing." Said a Seattle high-school teacher: "Well, we've had a woman in office now for two years, and there's still gambling going on, and rum-running, and graft. I can't see much difference. And," he added, "I suppose, under the new man it'll go on just the same." This difference of opinion would seem to indicate that Mayor Landes had done about as well as could be done under present conditions. Seattle was cleaned up—impressively. But it was a "reasonable" reform administration.

The only reason for her defeat which anyone has ever given is her sex. Seattle is sensitive to its reputation as a he-man city. It did not like to be teased about its mayor. It was just as irritated by the taunt: "What's the matter with you folks out there; haven't you got any men in Seattle that you have to have a woman for mayor?" as was Texas by the gibe: "The great open spaces, where men are men and women are governors." No one, not even a city, not even an honorable woman, can stand up against a campaign of ridicule.

Seattle is already a little ashamed of itself, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away and it surveys the landslide precipitated by its irritation. If the vote were to be taken today it would probably

reverse itself. Masculine domination has been vindicated and Seattle begins to remember what an awfully good mayor Mrs. Landes was. Her successor comes into office as an unknown quantity, with no record and no visible backers. He ran on a sex issue only. His primary campaign expenses, excluding the army of precinct workers and the bill posters, were \$15,000. His salary as Mayor will be \$7,500 a year. But the astonishingly huge vote recorded at the primary in March seems to indicate that masses of voters who ordinarily pay little attention to their duties as citizens turned out to instal him.

There is a deeper moral to the story, however, and a sadder one. No one can be successful in politics without playing the game of politics. And this Mrs. Landes has steadfastly refused to do. She has contended that politics has no place in municipal government; that political parties should be national organizations concerned with national policies, while the governing of a city was a matter of civic housekeeping—of buying stores and repairing streets and keeping the city clean and well and beautiful and as good as possible, efficiently, smoothly, and economically.

To this end she made all her appointments on the basis of efficiency and fitness, and not from the standpoint of political sagacity. In only one instance, she maintains, that of a labor representative appointed to a place on the Board of Public Works, succeeding a labor man, did she appoint any representative of a bloc of voters to a post in the city's government. And this, she says, was because plain justice seemed to dictate it. Those who did the city's work ought, surely, to be represented on its board of management.

This is no way for a politician to act. It is puzzling and irritating to the old guard. It is impossible for the politicians and bosses and grafters to catch step—to understand the rules of the game. Moreover, Mrs. Landes had what she characterized as an immense advantage over a man in her position. Having no family dependent upon her, she was in a position to ignore caution and self-interest. This is the unique contribution which, she believes, the woman with a grown family may make to wise governing. But what municipality wants a mayor who refuses to "listen to reason" when a crisis arrives?

Take the post of port warden, for example. Properly handled, that one appointment may be expected to deliver at least a thousand votes. Mrs. Landes appointed a young university instructor without political backing, place, or power. All the politicians could make of it was that she was favoring an associate of her husband, putting personalities before policies. But Mrs. Landes insists that he won the place on his merit. In addition to his university training he was a naval re-

serve officer with a war record, and he had his ship's papers and a license to navigate in Alaskan waters, won by actual experience. And then, instead of attending to his rake-off from every passing rum-schooner, he has busied himself with matters like signal lights and police patrol. Such neglect of obvious opportunities is too much for Seattle to witness with equanimity. "Let's put somebody in who knows a good thing when he sees it!"

Such "domestic economy" built up no political machine for the Mayor with which she could counteract the *sub rosa* campaign waged against her from the start by the old and well-intrenched po-

litical ring. She might be indorsed by all the civic organizations in the city, as she was; she might have the editorial support of every large daily, as she had; but that is not political backing, and in American cities today good-housekeeping is not good politics, shameful as it is to admit it.

IT is strongly to be doubted that Mrs. Landes will ever seek office on her own account. Her forays into the political field heretofore have been made under pressure of heavy persuasion. It is even less likely that she will renounce her principles and turn politician, to build

up an organization. But if ever a good job of civic or national housekeeping demands her attention it is not likely that she will refuse the call of duty. What will probably happen is that other politicians, recognizing her administrative ability and the allegiance she commands from her own small but influential class, will keep her active in appointive positions. Certainly in politics one must stoop to conquer, and she, no doubt, will choose never to stoop. For the present, she is kept busy lecturing and attending to the honorable but not onerous duties devolving upon her as moderator of the Congregational Conference of Washington.

News from the Field

Mrs. Weed's Near East Cruise

THE specially conducted party of Helena Hill Weed, one of the Founders of the National Woman's Party, which was to have taken the Round-the-World Cruise on the Caledonia, under the management of Frank C. Clark, has been given up, due to the withdrawal of the Clark World Cruise.

The disturbed conditions in China, which bid fair to grow worse instead of better, as a result of the Japanese demands in Manchuria, necessitated the postponement of the World Cruise. Most of those planning to go found it unsatisfactory to omit China—which would have been necessary under present conditions.

Mrs. Weed is therefore making the Near East Cruise again this winter as leader of a special party, and is making arrangements for special opportunities for the members of her group to study the history, social and legal position, and present-day progress of women in the countries to be visited.

Through the international connections of the Woman's Party, very special opportunities will be given for study of the international status of women. Mrs. Weed will welcome, as members of her party, Woman's Party members.

Palo Alto Meeting

THE arrest of Doris Stevens and three other Feminist leaders in Paris was the subject of discussion at a meeting August 31 of the Palo Alto, California, Branch of the National Woman's Party. Alice Park read reports from Washington of the plans of the special committee in Paris. The committee included besides Miss Stevens, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, president of the National Woman's Party of the United States; Mme. Anatole France, widow of the famous writer; Dr. Margaret Stegemann, member of the German Reichstag, and Viscountess Rhondda, editor of *Time and Tide*. This committee, according to reports from the Washington Headquarters of the Inter-American Com-

mission of Women in the Pan-American Union Building, had secured a promise from Foreign Minister Briand to give immediate consideration to the committee's request for an interview of an hour in which to present the demand for an Equal Rights Treaty. The treaty had already been presented to the Pan-American Conference and this had been urged as precedent, it was said. Doris Stevens was praised in numerous quotations read at the Palo Alto meeting for her brilliant work, especially at Havana, this year. These messages were from officials and editors in many countries of the Pan-American Union.

The members present offered various explanations of the incident in Paris, all but one being confident that the four women who held banners outside the gates of the President of France while the plenipotentiaries were signing the new peace treaty, were making a reasonable demand in the only way open to them in the very limited time the officials would be together. They asked for ten minutes in which to present the proposed treaty, which had already been presented at the Havana conference.

Another meeting will be held at Mrs. Park's home when further details of the incident arrive.

Nationality Problems

EMMA WOLD, treasurer of the National Woman's Party, addressed the Washington (D. C.) Branch of the Ameri-

can Association of University Women on Labor Day on "The Effect of Marriage on Nationality."

Two Million Dollar Fund Treasurer's Report

EMMA WOLD, Treasurer

NETTIE TRAIL, C. P. A., Auditor

RECEIPTS collected by National Headquarters December 7, 1912, to August 16, 1928, \$1,456,453.00.

Contributions, memberships and other receipts August 16, 1928, to September 1, 1928.

Dr. Mary O'Malley, D. C.	\$10.00
Mrs. Lucy Cooper Shaw, D. C.	2.50
Mrs. Besse Moton Garner, Mich.	10.00
Per Buffalo (N. Y.) Branch:	
(Buffalo Branch retaining dues in excess of 25 cents)	
Mrs. R. M. Fotheringham	.25
Miss Florence Farrington	.25
Mrs. John Henderson	.25
Miss Edna L. Sickmon	.25
Mrs. F. Isabella Proctor Miller, D. C.	1.00
Mrs. David A. Robertson, D. C.	1.00
Per New Jersey Branch:	
(New Jersey Branch retaining dues in excess of 25 cents)	
Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois	.25
Mrs. Helen P. Wetzel	.25
Dr. Cornelia J. Browne	.25
Mrs. John M. Dean, R. I.	6.00
Refunds	3.10
Rent of rooms at Headquarters	284.25

Total receipts, Aug. 16 to Sept. 1, 1928...\$319.60

Total receipts, Dec. 7, 1912, to Sept. 1, 1928...\$1,456,772.60

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